

BIOGRAPHY

THE DIARY OF ELIE BOUHÉREAU

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The Diary of Elie Bouhéreau.

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THE name of Elie Bouhéreau is not unknown in Huguenot annals. This notable physician of La Rochelle, after his flight from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was secretary to two British diplomatic missions abroad under William III and subsequently first public librarian in Ireland. This paper will deal almost entirely with a document of great interest, viz. the diary of this distinguished refugee, kept with great patience and precision for practically thirty years.

The first entry is dated August 22, 1689, and the last, March 31, 1719, a few weeks before the author's death. The diary has been, since 1915, the property of Marsh's Library, Dublin, of which Bouhéreau was the first librarian. It contains 125 folio pages and has been augmented by 40 pages of the author's accounts of expenditure from June 1704 to March 1716. It is written in a fine and legible hand, which changes but little with Bouhéreau's advancing years.

For the benefit of those who may be unfamiliar with his name and history I may be permitted to outline here briefly the outstanding events in his life up to his departure from France. I am indebted to Dr. Newport J. D. White of Trinity College, Dublin, whose excellent paper on 'Elias Bouhéreau of La Rochelle,' published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*,¹ is of the greatest interest.

Bouhéreau was born at La Rochelle on May 5, 1643. His father was pastor at Fontenay. The name, though still retaining the medieval spelling of Bouhéreau, was properly

¹ Vol. xxvii, Section C, No. 4 (1908). Reprinted in *Four Good Men*. Dublin: Hodges & Figgis, 1927.

pronounced Boireau, and this spelling appears on some letters from intimate friends. Subsequently the name of the Bouhéreau family was in Ireland corrupted to Borough, although, according to Dr. Newport White, it is unlikely that any person now alive bearing the name of Borough is descended from the Elie Bouhéreau in question.

The family was a prominent one in La Rochelle. Elie's mother was Blandine Richard. She fled with her son and his family to Ireland, and her name frequently occurs in the diary. As a boy Bouhéreau was sent to the important academy of Saumur, where he studied theology and became acquainted with many prominent Protestants who remained his friends through life. The most intimate friend of his youth was Paul Baudry, whose edition of *Lactantius*¹ was enriched by some of Bouhéreau's notes.

Although Bouhéreau seems to have been a man of fine and discerning taste in literature, and was frequently consulted on literary points by his friends, it is remarkable that he himself should have produced so little. Besides the notes for the edition of *Lactantius* and a *Lettre à Mlle. D. B. sur le Choix d'un Medecin* mentioned by Haag, he has only left us a translation of the *Treatise of Origen against Celsus* undertaken about 1672 at the request of Conrart, Secretary of the French Academy, but not published until 1700 in Dublin.

At some date not ascertained Bouhéreau abandoned the study of theology for that of medicine. According to Haag he took the degree of M.D. at the University of Orange in 1667, and letters of this year addressed to him bear the title of 'Docteur en medecine.' His studies in medicine cannot have been very prolonged nor gone very deep, and beyond an interesting and detailed account of a post-mortem and a passing reference to a visit to the anatomical school at Leyden, there is little in the diary to indicate that his profession greatly interested him.

Bouhéreau was married to his cousin Marguerite Massiot. They had a large family and six children are mentioned in the diary: Elie, Richard or Des Herbiers, Amateur, Jean,

¹ *Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecutorum.* 2nd ed. Paul Baudry. Utrecht, 1692. The first edition was published in 1680 in Paris by Baluze, who discovered the MS. in Colbert's Library.

Marguerite and Blandine. Another daughter, Magdalen, was left behind in France when the family fled to England, and, according to the first entry in the diary, died there in a convent in which she had been imprisoned.

The dramatic story of the escape from France of Bouhéreau and his family has been preserved for us in an interesting document¹: the 'Recollections of Jane Freboul, née Quartier.' This was Bouhéreau's grand-daughter, who, when over 90 years of age, was with great difficulty persuaded to write down the story she had heard from her grandfather and uncles. On account of its great interest I may here be permitted to quote an extract from this document.

'My grand-father . . . when the persecution began to blaze, recd. a letter of cachette which banished him to another town, there he found another to go further, however he made his escape to the English ambassador at Paris . . . and beg'd of His excellency to permit him to give him a receipt as if he had bought his Library and got them sent to England which that Nobleman did, by which means he saved a most curious collection of manuscripts and other books, which would have been burnt by the common hangman as heretical, as soon as he was gone a troop of Dragoons was quartered on his House to force my grand-mother to change her Religion and take his children, but she had them all out to different friends with orders to send them to a House on the quay (where all Protestants that could make their escape us'd to meet) with a promise that she would make hers and meet them there, which accordingly she did, for one of the fellows asking her money to buy a hat, she said she could buy it cheaper than he and make the money go further and get them more things as they might want them, he consented and went with her, it was night, and her maid (tho' a woman) was very faithfull, promised to do what lay in her power to help her. My grand-mother made her carry a lanthorn, and bid her when she came to such a house pretend her foot had slip'd and let herself fall and put out the candle which she did and making a great outcry, pretended she had sprain'd her ancle, in the meantime my grand-mother got into the house which was left open on purpose and by the back door go to the quay where her children were before her . . . the first person my grand-mother found going into ye house was my grandfather whom she

¹ Quoted by Dr. Newport White, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

thought was hundreds of leagues off, she had much adoe to keep herself from shrieking, but contained herself on acct' of the danger they ran if discovered, ye same night they got on board a ship yt waited for them and a great number of others yt had made their escape as well as they.'

According to Bouhéreau's own statement in the first entry in his diary he came to London in January 1686. His life now divides into three very distinct periods. First his engagement as secretary to Mr. Thomas Coxe, envoy extraordinary from William III to Switzerland. This engagement lasted three years, from August 1689 to September 1692.

In November 1693 he records his engagement as secretary to Lord Galway, whom William was sending to Piedmont in the place of the Duke of Schomberg as commander-in-chief of the British forces, with credentials to the Court of Turin. This mission lasted likewise approximately three years. In January 1697 he records his return to London. The third, and by far the longest period, is that of Bouhéreau's residence in Ireland, whither he accompanied Lord Galway on the latter's nomination to the office of Lord Justice. When in 1701 Galway departed for Portugal, Bouhéreau, who by this time had come under the notice of Narcissus Marsh, then Archbishop of Dublin, remained in Dublin. He was ordained in December 1701 and in December 1703 was appointed librarian of Marsh's Library adjoining St. Patrick's Cathedral, where he lived a happy and useful life till his death in 1719. Such, in brief outline, are the last thirty years of Bouhéreau's life, which he recounts with great detail in the diary.

The diary opens with the following statement :

'Après la Révocation de l'edit de Nantes, sur la fin de 1685, et les diverses persecutions excitées contre les Protestans, en France, je ramassay ce que je pûs de ma famille, et je passay en Angleterre, au mois de janvier 1685/6. Dieu m'a fait la grâce de m'y rendre, depuis, le reste. . . . Il a aussi pourvû à tous nos besoins. J'ay marqué ailleurs les principales circonstances du soin qu'il a pris de nous : et je pourray à loisir les rapporter en quelque endroit de ce livre. A present, mon dessein est de suivre le fil de mes aventures, depuis que j'ay cessé d'être auprès des enfans de Mad^e. la Duchesse de Monmouth. Je suis sorty d'avec eux au milieu de l'année 1689.

I have found no reference in the Buccleuch papers to his engagement of Bouhéreau in the Monmouth household ; there is, however, no reason to doubt his word. The unfortunate ' Protestant Duke ' had four sons and two daughters, and there is every likelihood that a man of Bouhéreau's standing and history would have been welcomed as a tutor.

In the following entry, dated August 12 (N.S.), Bouhéreau records his engagement with Mr. Thomas Coxe. It is perhaps inevitable, though unfortunate, that William's Irish campaign, culminating in the Battle of the Boyne and the siege of Limerick, should tend somewhat to obscure in our minds the importance of his diplomatic relations on the Continent. William, however, neglected no aspect of the struggle against France. Coxe's instructions, as preserved in the Public Record Office, are clear and precise. He was to reside either in Berne or in Zürich and address himself first to the Evangelical cantons, proposing a friendly alliance with them. If the Catholic cantons would receive him, he was to summon a Diet and proceed to them also. He was to maintain a correspondence with the King's allies, do all in his power to undermine French influence, and try to raise a levy of four regiments for his Majesty's service.

The party started from London on September 21 (O.S.). For his services to Mr. Coxe Bouhéreau received £200 sterling with, as he says, '*un valet entretenu, ma nourriture et mon logement dans sa maison (Mr. Coxe) et les frais de mes voyages.*' The journey was accomplished via Holland and the German States. Bouhéreau's account would have provided an excellent guide-book for the benighted traveller in the days of journey by stage coach. He gives particulars of the route in great detail, including names of inns, the distances between them, prices of meals and sleeping accommodation, and so on.

The party crossed the Rhine at Arnheim where a curious ferry formed of two large boats attached together aroused Bouhéreau's curiosity. Leaving the Dutch dependencies they traversed Cleves and on nearing Düsseldorf they stopped to listen to the cannon fired to salute the Elector of Brandenburg returning after the capture of Bonn. From Düsseldorf they proceeded to Bonn, which had been evacuated by the French five or six days

previously. Following the course of the Rhine to Coblenz they travelled by 'very bad roads, a constant menace to the carriages.' Signs of war were everywhere visible and the fair town of Coblenz lay half in ruins. Finally, they reached Frankfort, where they rested five days, and then continued the journey, everywhere incommoded by the bad roads to which Bouhéreau constantly refers. The following entries are typical :

' A cinq grosses heures de Mildenburg, par de mauvais chemins, dans les montagnes, arrivé à Kulsheim qui dépend encore de Mayence. Couché la, parmi des cuirassiers de Saxe qui y avoyent leur quartier. Nous avons couché sur la paille et mangé de tres-mèchant pain bis—mais, pour nous consoler, les Trompettes nous ont donné la sérénade et nos réserves du passé nous ont fourny des confitures sèches. . . . Paye 64^l. . . . marché huit ou neuf heures sans débrider pour arriver à Sommeringen. . . . Nous y avons encore très-mal soupé et couché, les troupes de Saxe qui venoyent d'en déloger ayant tout mis en désordre. Paye 48^l.

At Nuremberg the magistrates of the town bearing gifts came to salute Mr. Coxe. They brought 'vingt-quatre Flacons de diverses sortes d'excellent vin, une cuvette remplie de poissons vivans, et une grande corbeille de confitures sèches.' On their arrival at Ulm on the Danube, further gifts were forthcoming: '3/13 Nov:bre. . . . le soir même de notre arrivée, nous avons reçu la visite des magistrats avec leur présent; savoir un tonneau de vin et vingt-quatre sacs d'avoine, sur des chariots. Le tout est demeuré à notre hôte; à qui nous n'avons pas laissé de payer 84^l.' Signs of revolt in Bouhéreau's thrifty soul would seem to be indicated by the last entry, though he otherwise found Ulm a pleasant town. 'Nous avons admiré les différens habits des femmes, qui ont tous quelque chose de fort bizarre pour un étranger.'

From Ulm the party proceeded to Lindau and made their first stop on Swiss soil at St. Gall, where a military escort came out to greet the Envoy-extraordinary from England. After a Latin oration, delivered by 'Monsieur Högger, doctor of Laws,' the party proceeded to the gates of St. Gall where, says Bouhéreau, 'A la porte de la ville nous avons été reçus par une

compagnie d'environ soixante bourgeois sous les armes. . . . Toutes les rues étoient bordées de Peuple jusqu'à notre logis au Beuf, où Messieurs les Magistrats, savoir trois bourgmestres qui gouvernent chacun par année, quelques Conseillers, le Chancelier, et le Secrétaire, en habits de cérémonie, également graves et simples, sont venus en corps complimenter Mr. l' Envoyé. . . .

Ils l'ont fait haranguer en Allemand par le même docteur, et Mr. l'Envoyé a répondu en François à son discours, comme il avoit fait au premier en latin. Ils nous ont fait préparer le souper, dans notre propre logis, et à l'entrée du repas ils ont fait apporter douze flacons du vin de la ville que Mr. Högger a encore presentez, avec un compliment François auquel on a répondu de même. A souper, nous avons chacun à nos côtes deux de ces Messieurs, avec qui on s'est entretenu agréablement, soit en François, en Latin ou en Italien. Je me suis trouvé placé auprès d'un nommé Mr. Fels avec qui j'étois à Rome en 1667. . . . Le repas a été servy de tout ce que le pays peut fournir et les santez solennelles n'ont pas été oubliées.'

From St. Gall the company proceeded by coach and on horseback through various Swiss towns en route for Zürich. They were everywhere received with French and Latin orations, compliments and gifts. 'Il y avoit partout, une foule incroyable de Peuple, qui avoyent le joye peinte sur le visage, de voir dans leur ville un envoyé de S.M.B.' In Zürich was a large community of French, two of whom, M. de Mirmand of Nîmes, and M. d'Albiac, Minister, are specially mentioned by Bouhéreau.

The initial ceremonies of their reception over, life in Zürich tended to become somewhat monotonous. Bouhéreau's time, for the greater part of his stay, seems to have been largely occupied by the writing of commissions and the issuing of passports to persons desirous of travelling under British protection to Holland and to England itself. He wrote with great care the names and distinctions of the applicants, the overwhelming majority of whom were Huguenot refugees, but it would be impossible here to enter into details regarding them. Whether from discretion or from other reasons Bouhéreau mentions little of the Treaty with the Cantons, although its

discussion must have begun shortly after their arrival in Zürich. On January 16 (N.S.), 1690, he notes :

‘ Mr Amelot, Ambassadeur de France à Soleure a écrit ¹ aux Magistrats de cette ville, pour leur représenter que leur alliance avec la France ne leur permet pas d’entrer en aucun traité avec le Roy qui règne à présent en Angleterre ; dont il parle en termes injurieux.’

Bouhéreau notes that the language in which the missive was couched aroused great indignation. The Cantons were however in a difficult position. France was near, powerful and menacing ; England was distant and the security of William’s tenure uncertain. They contented themselves with fair speeches, receptions, suppers and interminable deliberations in Council. Mr. Coxe distributed his largesses with open hand to deputies from the various Cantons. On July 19 (N.S.), 1690, a diet was held at Arau to discuss further negotiations. Mr. Coxe, his family and suite repaired thither. From Arau he continued his journey to Berne where he now took up his residence.

It was in Berne on August 3, that news was received of William’s victory at the Boyne. The news was opportune and was celebrated with great rejoicings. A banquet was given by Mr. Coxe to sixty of the principal citizens, while his wife entertained in her apartments the chief ladies of Berne. Mr. Coxe also, says Bouhéreau,

‘ a fait couler une fontaine de vin pour le peuple, dans la Place voisine. Le soir toutes les faces de son logis ont été illuminées. Il y a eu un feu-de-joye fort-bien-entendu, et partagé en trois, sur la hauteur où étoit placé le canon vis-à-vis de la ville. Grand nombre de fusées. Divers autres feux d’artifice, tant sur terre que dans l’eau ; et plusieurs décharges de canon. La Fête s’est terminée par un bal que la Jeunesse de la ville a donné dans le lieu nommé l’Abbaye (c’est à dire la Maison d’Assemblée) des Tanneurs.’

The year 1791 opened auspiciously with the marriage of the chaplain of the party, Mr. Pinckney, to Mlle. Agnès Martin, lady-in-waiting to Mrs. Coxe, who was herself a Frenchwoman.

¹ A copy of this letter in Bouhéreau’s handwriting and reply of the Cantons is to be found in P.R.O., Foreign Entry Books, S.P. 26/7.

On November 14 (N.S.) news was received of the capitulation of Limerick, which was celebrated by a banquet very similar to the one which followed the receiving of the news of the Boyne victory. On this occasion, however, a piquant detail is noted by Bouhéreau :

‘ Quelques dames de Berne ont été condamnées à l’amende pour être allées au bal de l’envoyé, vêtues et coiffées à la Française contre les reglemens de l’état ; mais on en a exempté celles qui n’out point paru dans les Rues, s’étant habillées et des-habillées, dans sa maison comme dans un lieu privilégié.’

On May 8, 1692, Bouhéreau describes an interesting performance of a morality play in the church at Berne.

‘ Le sujet de la pièce étoit les malheurs et la délivrance de l’Europe, qui y a paru accablée de douleur et de craintes. Les Jésuites y ont donné la bénédiction aux Dragons, qui ont été faire le dégât chez Protestans de France. Le Roy de France, accompagné des mêmes Jésuites et de ses gardes et suivy partout de l’orgueil et de la violence, a fait alliance avec le Turc. L’Empereur et le Roy Guillaume de leur côté se sont unis pour déffendre la liberté, qui implorait leur secours ; et qui avoit la *Foy* et la *Religion* pour compagnes. Le Roy Jacques s’est plaint de se voir dépossédé . . . La *Renommée* a d’abord apporté de bonnes nouvelles au Roy de France et à ceux de son party. Mais en suite, les choses ont changé ; et enfin la *Paix* a tout terminé par une heureuse conclusion. Il n’y a que le Roy Jacques qui en ait paru mal-content, mais pour le consoler, un moine lui a apporté, de Rome, un chapeau de Cardinal.’

The play was preceded by an oration in German, composed and recited by Professor Bondely, ‘ où il justifie la dernière révolution en Angleterre.’

On May 24, 1692, Mr. Coxe bade farewell to Berne. Bouhéreau recounts the ceremonial leave-taking in great detail. The company consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Coxe, their son and daughter, Mlle. de Bouslette of Berne, the chaplain and his wife, the secretary, the page, the butler, the house-keeper, the coachman, the postilion, the groom, a muleteer, two lackeys, and various unspecified foreigners who desired to travel to Holland under the protection of his Majesty’s Envoy.

The same honours were paid them as on their arrival, the same solemn speechmaking in Latin, French and German. The return was effected by much the same route as they had taken on their outward journey : Zürich, Schaffhausen, Frankfort, Düsseldorf, Cleves, and Utrecht, where Bouhéreau visited his friend Baudry and heard M. Saurin preach. From Utrecht he went to Leyden to visit M. de Laizement and his family. He finally embarked at Rotterdam, and returned safely to London on October 1 (N.S.), where he says : ' Dieu m'a fait la grâce de trouver ma famille en bon état après trois ans d'absence.'

On November 24 (N.S.), 1693, he notes his engagement as secretary to Henri de Ruvigny, created Earl of Galway by William III. Galway was being sent to Piedmont to be the successor of the Charles Schomberg, Duke of Tetford, who had died of wounds after the battle of Marsiglia. (He was the son of Marshal Schomberg who was killed at the Boyne.) Of Galway's reputation and character it is unnecessary for me to speak here. Bouhéreau had doubtless come under his notice in his father's house at Greenwich, where the old Marquis, the chief of the Huguenot refugees, received innumerable visitors of his own nation.¹ Bouhéreau was also doubtless a man of some reputation, as his appointment is referred to in one of the Gazettes of the time.²

The mission to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was a highly difficult one. Galway was to be not only commander-in-chief, but ambassador and negotiator. 'The Duke of Savoy,' says Trevelyan,³ 'would have won the approval of Machiavelli both for his ends and for the means by which he attained them.' He is of interest to English readers as he had once sought to establish a claim to the English throne for his son, through his wife Anna, daughter of the famous Henriette d'Angleterre, immortalised by Bossuet. It was his lifelong endeavour to keep the foreigner out of Piedmont by balancing Austria against France. Both Louis and William were exceedingly anxious to conclude an alliance with the astute ruler of this little mountain principality, whose strategic position

¹ See Agnew, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

² Newsletter in possession of the Earl of Denbigh; see *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, vii, 215.

³ *Blenheim*, p. 304.

gave it an importance entirely out of proportion to its size and power. Victor Amadeus was fully aware of his power, and in 1693 was coquetting skilfully with both parties.

Bouhéreau's remuneration on this expedition attained the princely figure of £273 15s. stg., out of which he had to pay an assistant secretary ; he took his eldest son, Elie, with him in this capacity. He again gives full details of the journey which was accomplished via Holland, the Rhine Valley and Switzerland. The entire arrangements for the journey were made by a Swiss, Jean Deller, who for the sum of 600 Dutch Rixdaelers agreed to provide carriages, conveyances for baggage, saddle and pack horses, food for servants and horses from The Hague to Zürich, binding himself moreover, unless prevented by weather or unforeseen accident, to accomplish the journey in twenty-two days. As a matter of fact it occupied twenty-five days ; the party only reached Zürich on February 8 (N.S.), after an adventurous journey, including a fall into the river at Heilbronn. From Zürich they traversed Switzerland, and descending through Novara and Vercelli, arrived at Turin on March 11 (N.S.), 1694.

For many months from this date the diary contains little of any interest. It is chiefly a record of many short expeditions from Turin to the encamped army, expeditions on which Bouhéreau invariably accompanied Lord Galway. This lack of interest is easily accounted for by the fact that the Duke imposed on his army what Agnew calls a 'melancholy inaction.' No engagements were possible in this mountainous territory in winter, and the summers were spent in secret negotiations unknown to the allies. The Duke succeeded in concealing his treachery from Lord Galway by exercising great cunning and address.

In the late spring of 1694, at the instance of England and Holland he signed an edict allowing the Vaudois free exercise of their religion, and on May 28 Bouhéreau records the departure of Lord Galway to the Vaudois valleys to carry in person to the inhabitants the edict of their re-establishment.

Lord Galway was anxious that the land forces of the allies should combine with the British fleet to attack Toulon or Marseilles, and Bouhéreau frequently refers to the arrival and

dispatch of couriers from and to Admiral Russell. The Duke of Savoy's attention was concentrated on the fortresses of Casal and Pignerol, and there are many references to these places in the diary.

On May 20, 1694, Bouhéreau notes the arrival in Turin of two princes of Brandenburg, brothers of the Elector, and on July 3 that of Prince Eugene. The same week he comments on the remarkable fact that not only are Protestants now free from persecution in Turin, 'a town of inquisition,' but that three French Protestant ministers preached successively at Lord Galway's house, while the Protestants of the town celebrated a public fast to invoke God's blessing on the operations of the army.

Bouhéreau now seems to have acted as a kind of banker to whom many needy officers applied for loans, which he usually granted, noting carefully all the details of the transaction. Thus he informs us that he lent a louis d'or to Mr. Saurin, cadet in Galway's regiment. 'Il est malade à Turin, et qui m'a écrit pour avoir quelque secours. J'en ai donné avis à Mr. de Mirmand qui me fera rembourser par le Père.'

Also 'J'ay aujourd'hui reçu une lettre de M. Boyer . . . Il me prie de donner deux livres sterling à Mr. de Rocheblave, cadet dans le régiment de Gallway, qu'il se charge de retirer de Mr. Rocheblave son frère, ministre à Londres.'

Also 'J'ai reçu un billet de Mr. d'Hervart, par lequel il m'a fait ordre de faire donner trois louis d'or à un officier suisse, qui est aux arrêts dans la citadelle de Turin.'

The autumn of 1694 was spent in the camp. Among the heterogeneous regiments composing it was one of Hungarian infantry which aroused Bouhéreau's curiosity on account of the strangeness of the soldiers' dress and manners. He visited their quarters and 'conversed some time in Latin with an ensign.'

On September 25—a day doubtless spent tediously or unprofitably—he fills the space in his diary by transcribing a letter written by him on that date, which gives a detailed account of the conjugal misfortunes of Sophia Dorothea of Zell, wife of the Elector of Hanover, subsequently George the First. Bouhéreau, as a chivalrous Frenchman, shows considerable

sympathy with that unhappy princess. After recounting her misfortunes he observes : ' Qui voudrait écrire une histoire tragique où pourroit-il trouver une plus belle matière ? '

The beginning of 1695 finds him back in Turin. On January 28 the sad news reached Piedmont that Queen Mary had died in Kensington on the 27th of the preceding month. She was deeply mourned by all the Protestants of Piedmont, Bouhéreau sharing in all the manifestations of popular grief.

On March 17 Lord Galway and Bouhéreau departed for Vercelli to supervise the preparations which were being made for the siege of Casal. Meanwhile, unknown to Galway, the Duke, despite his alliance with William, had previously agreed with the French that the fortress, after being dismantled, was to be handed over to the Duke of Mantua. This does not, however, detract from the credit for preparations for attack, made by Galway, who was utterly ignorant of his ally's perfidy. Great hardships were experienced by the troops, and Bouhéreau notes with dismay that an exceptionally heavy fall of snow necessitated a temporary abandonment of the siege and a return to Turin. Even in May the Po was still so swollen by rains that great difficulty was experienced in drawing the lines.

In the early summer Bouhéreau was again in the camp with Galway. On June 9 he recounts in detail a romance that had caused a ripple in the camp :

' Le Prince Charles de Brandebourg, frère de S.A.R. voulut épouser à la Venerie, pres de Turin, Mad. de Salmoure, veuve d'un gentilhomme piémontais ; mais, n'ayant pu observer les formalitez nécessaires et l'Archévêque ayant fait défense de passer outre, S.A.R. alla à Turin, et n'ayant pu ravoit autrement la Dame, la fit enlever de chez le Prince, où elle avait déjà été trois jours, et la fit mettre dans un couvent.'

Three days later he records the Prince's arrival in camp. But the romance was destined to end in tragedy, for on July 23 he notes :

' Le Prince Charles de Brandebourg est mort au camp, après quelques jours de maladie, à laquelle le chagrin a eu beaucoup de part. Il étoit rappelé à la cour de l'Electeur son frère ; et il ne pouvoit se guérir de sa passion. La Dame est encore au couvent ;

mais on dit que le Pape avoit déclaré le mariage légitime ; ce qui n'est pas surprenant, ayant autant d'intérêt qu'il en a que des Princes Protestans ayent des femmes catholiques romaines.'

From the beginning of June preparations for the siege of Casal were pursued with vigour. Bouhéreau's interest is now transferred to military operations, and he notes with evident relish the length and spacing of trenches, the number of troops, the placing of guns and the erection of batteries. The technical details of military matters are of greatest interest, but are unfortunately too lengthy for me to do more than mention. Fever did not spare the besieging forces, and Bouhéreau notes that practically no one escaped. At the end of August his son Elie fell ill and the following day he himself succumbed to the ague, but cured himself by dosing with cinchona, from which our modern quinine is derived.

The capitulation of Casal took place on July 11, but the demolition dragged on slowly. Agnew declares that at this time suspicions regarding the Duke's conduct began to trouble Galway. Bouhéreau does not expressly mention his master's dissatisfaction, but hints at it in the various entries where he notes Galway's hasty goings and comings between the camp and Turin.

During the winter Lord Galway was absent in Switzerland raising troops for the service of King William ; Bouhéreau remained behind in Piedmont. He spent his time reading and interested himself once more in the literary life of France, brilliant and varied as it was under Louis XIV. The death of La Fontaine is referred to in an entry in which he quotes an epitaph attributed to La Fontaine himself :

‘ Jean s'en alla comme il étoit venu,
Mangea le fond comme le revenu,
Jugea trésors chose peu nécessaire
Quant à son tems bien le sut dépenser
Deux parts en fit : dont il souloit passer
L'une à dormir, l'autre a ne rien faire.’

On March 30, and again on April 26, a general day of thanksgiving was celebrated in the Army and in Protestant churches

for the discovery of the plot against King William, for which Sir John Fenwick and others suffered.

In the early part of 1696 the Duke sought to enter into secret negotiation with France, and contrived an opportunity for this by inventing a pilgrimage to Loretto, where French negotiators met him disguised as monks. Spies were sent by Prince Eugene and by Galway, but the Duke craftily outwitted them, and on March 6/16 Bouhéreau simply observes : ' S.A.R. étant allé de Milan à Lorette, s'aquitter d'un vœu, est revenue à Turin.'

The offers of France had indeed been dazzling and could not be concealed beyond the month of July. On the 9th of that month Bouhéreau writes :

' Enfin, la résolution de S.A.R. d'accepter les propositions de la France a éclaté. Outre la restitution de tout ce qu'on luy a pris par la guerre, on luy offre Pignerol rasé avec toutes ses dépendances, et le mariage du duc de Bourgogne avec la princesse, sa fille aînée.'

An immediate truce was declared. Bouhéreau merely records the Duke's treachery, but does not comment on it. He continued to spend his time between the camp and Turin, while arrangements were being made to evacuate the allies' army.

Bouhéreau confirms Luttrell's statement that the Duke made friendly overtures to Galway and sent him a present of his portrait set in diamonds, which Galway refused to accept. Bouhéreau's statement is as follows :

' August 21/31. Monsieur le Chevalier Vernon frère de Monsieur le comte Vernon Maître des Ceremonies est venu trouver mylord. . . . Le Comte Vernon a un ordre d'apporter à Mylord un Portrait de S.A.R. enrichi de diamans, et ne pouvant venir luy-même parce-qu'il est malade, il l'a envoyé par son frère, avec une lettre. Mylord a fait réponse au Comte Vernon avec beaucoup de Marques de reconnoissance et de respect pour S.A.R. mais il s'excusa de recevoir le portrait dans la conjoncture présent, jusqu'à ce qu'il en eût la permission du Roy, à qui il en écriroit.'

The army commanded by Galway meanwhile proceeded on the march northwards. On September 12 the detachment

with which Bouhéreau found himself camped at San Nazaro, and on the 16th they sighted Pavia. While they were there news filtered through of the proposed general treaty between the French and the Allies, but King William's orders were explicit, and Galway did not participate in the negotiations which Bouhéreau mentions. The negotiations finally resulted in the pact of Vigevano, signed on October 7 (N.S.), to which the contracting parties were France, Savoy, Spain and Austria. England is not mentioned.

At this date Lord Galway and Bouhéreau were still in Pavia. Bouhéreau notes with great interest a visit to the scene of the defeat of Francis I. At the end of September, still in Pavia, he records the attack made on Valenza by the French under the leadership of the Duke of Savoy. Galway kept constantly in touch with his former ally and the courtesy of their relations is most striking.

On November 14 Bouhéreau definitely began his journey homewards. On the 15th he crossed the Swiss frontier. The season of the year and the mountainous country made transport impossible save in sleighs. The party to which he was attached crossed the St. Gothard with difficulty, being received and entertained on the way by the monks. On November 25 they reached Zürich, where they rested two days, then on once more through Würtemberg to Stuttgart—the same route as that taken three years previously. On crossing the Neckar, now spanned by a fine stone bridge, Bouhéreau naively remarks, 'J'ay reconnu l'endroit où Lord Gallway et moi sommes tombés à l'eau.' Lord Galway had taken a different route from Switzerland and Bouhéreau only rejoined him in Holland. January 6 saw Bouhéreau's arrival at Utrecht, where he stayed with his friend Baudry. On the 14th of the same month came the tragic news of the death from pneumonia of his eldest son Elie, who had been left behind at Wesel in the kindly hands of M. de Mirmand. He was in his 27th year.¹

On the 19th Bouhéreau arrived at Harwich and on the 21st reached London. On the 22nd he proceeded to Little Sutton: 'J'ay été à Little Sutton, où est ma famille à six ou sept miles

¹ Jane Freboul (see Dr. Newport White, *op. cit.*, p. 151) is therefore incorrect in saying that he was killed in Flanders.

de Londres. La joye que nous avons eue de nous revoir, a été fort troublée par la triste nouvelle que j'ay apportée de la mort de mon fils aîné.'

We now come to the third division into which the diary naturally falls, namely, Bouhéreau's life in Ireland. It was on January 27, 1697, that he heard of Lord Galway's appointment as one of the three Lords-Justices of Ireland. For a period of about thirty years after 1688 the government of that country was vested in Lords-Justices or in a Viceroy. Bouhéreau at this date was still serving as Galway's secretary, and had brought his family to London, where they were living in furnished rooms in St. James's Street. On receiving the news of Galway's new appointment he prepared to take up his residence in Ireland, and on May 21 he, with his wife, his mother, his two daughters and his youngest son, departed from London on the journey to Holyhead. On the 25th they reached Chester, having travelled by stage coach through St. Albans, Northampton and Coventry. On the way the coach overturned and the occupants suffered much from bruises, Mme. Bouhéreau most severely. Her husband records a payment of 2s. 6d. to the surgeon who bled her. He likewise paid 2s. 6d. for oranges, 5s. for coffee, powder and thread, 2s. to the baker, 1s. to the sexton of the church, 8s. 6d. to the laundress, while for the twelve days spent at Chester he paid mine host of the 'Two Blue Balls' £7 11s.

On June 9 they set sail for Ireland. Some idea of the hazards and inconveniences of the passage, which is now accomplished by mail steamer in $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours, may be gathered from the fact that three days elapsed before they arrived in Dublin. They had been delayed by contrary winds and the striking of sandbanks.

In the seventeenth century ships sailed up to Ringsend, whence cars transported the passengers to the city. Dublin at the close of the seventeenth century did not present the fine picture which it did at the close of the eighteenth. Swift speaks of 'wretched Dublin in miserable Ireland,' and it was not until the eighteenth century was well advanced that a spirit of improvement crept in, and fine mansions and new streets began to appear.

The diary from now until its close is frankly disappointing.

Bouhéreau must have felt at home in a city where the French element was unusually strong, and where Huguenot settlers were more welcomed than in England. His references to contemporary events are, however, of a very meagre description, and his reticence is all the more to be regretted as Dublin was passing through stirring times. The diary is henceforth almost exclusively a record of family events. The marriages, the births, the baptisms, the deaths, the small accounts, the engaging and dismissal of servants are carefully noted. Here and there a distinguished name calls up a shade from the past, as when the diarist notes, unaware of the significance of the name : ' May 10 (N.S.) 1713. Le docteur Jean Stearne a été sacré évêque de Dromore, dans l'église Cathédrale de St. Patrick, à Dublin dont il étoit le Doyen. Il a, pour successeur, le Dr. Jonathan Swift.'

Immediately on their arrival in Dublin the Bouhéreau family lodged in furnished rooms near the back of the castle for which they paid 8s. a week. They subsequently moved to a house in Hoy's Alley, then to York Street, and finally, before his removal to the ' large fair house ' which Marsh had provided for the library bearing his name, they resided in Stephen Street ' beside the ruined house of Lord Longford.'

Reading between the lines, Bouhéreau's temper now seems to deteriorate rapidly. He has become querulous ; he certainly established a record in the dismissal of his servants. One loses count of the Pierres, Terences and Jeans who pass through the household. Thus August 6/16, 1697 :

' J'ay changé de valet et j'en ay pris un autre nommé Pierre, à que je dois donner deux livres sterling par an, un Habit et une paire de souliers mais, je l'ay renvoyé dès le lendemain n'ayant pû m'en accomoder.'

On November 12 came the news that his second son Richard or Des Herbiers had been wounded at the battle of Ebernbourg and had had an arm amputated. This son subsequently married an Englishwoman, Miss Dorothy Stockton, and came to reside with his father in Dublin.

I note some entries of interest taken at random :

1698 July 8th N.S. ' Je suis allé à Portarlinton, à 27 miles de Dublin avec Mylord Gallway, dans son carosse. . . . D'autres à

cheval. Revenu le lendemain ; et dîné en passant, chez Mylord, Comte de Meath dans la loge qu'il a fait bâtir sur la Currough où se font les courses de cheval.'

On August 8 he notes, with suitable regret, the passing of the Dowager Marquise de Ruvigny, Lord Galway's mother.

That betting was considered less reprehensible in the seventeenth century than nowadays appears from the following entry :

'M. de la Basoge a reçu pour moy de Mr Villet, Ministre à la Brille, ou par son ordre la somme de 146 florins 6 sols qui m'étoit due du provenue de quelques billets que ma femme avoit à une loterie à Rotterdam.'

Bouhéreau's financial transactions are noted in great detail, for he appears to have been extremely methodical. Thus he sent his old friend M. Richier three barrels of butter costing £5 11s. Duties cost 1s. 6d. He paid 4d. for having the barrels carried to his house, 4d. for having them carried to the quayside, 9d. for salting them and 1s. for carrying them on board ship. M. Richier's total bill therefore came to £5 14s. 11d. But he owes M. Richier a small sum for the *Journal des Savants* which he sent him and for some other books. M. Richier is in Holland—hence minute calculations of the exchange value of pounds sterling and florins.

It was probably about the same time that Bouhéreau began to be noticed by Marsh, who had been Archbishop of Dublin since 1694. In the year 1698 (November) he records having obtained for 'Mylord l'Archévêque de Dublin' the 'journaux d'Utrecht et d'autres journaux.' Marsh was doubtless at this time working for the realisation of the project with which his name is now associated—the founding of a public library in Ireland. Thus in the records of the reign of Queen Anne we learn that this munificent prelate ¹

'did out of his generous inclinations to the public good of this kingdom, the propagation of the true Christian religion as by law established, and the encouragement of learning at his own cost and charges build a large fair house . . . the upper part was to be used as a library open to all persons conforming to rules laid down.'

¹ Quoted A. Peter, *Sketches of Old Dublin*. This book contains an interesting account of the formation of Marsh's library, and photograph of interior.

This 'large fair house' and library in St. Patrick's Close, Dublin, are still open to the public and preserve something of the air of the Dublin of Jonathan Swift. Bouhéreau was appointed first librarian at a salary of £200 a year. He in return presented his books to the library, where they are still to be seen, doubtless most of them in the same room where they were first placed by his own hands, and which has ever since contained them. Many of these volumes are fine examples of early French printing and testify to the varied literary interests of their owner, ranging from sober works of the early Fathers to the gallant verses of the Pléiade poets.

Bouhéreau's family meanwhile began to take root in Dublin. On April 23, 1699, his younger daughter Blandine was married to M. Jean Jourdain, 'ministre de l'Evangile.' The following year his mother died. She was over ninety years of age and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral under the Communion Table in the Lady Chapel. On April 20 of the same year he notes the birth of Henry Jourdain, his grandson, son of Jean Jourdain and Blandine. Lord Galway stood godfather to the child, to whom he left £100 in his will. The following year M. Jourdain obtained the living of Dunshaughlin in Co. Meath, and he and his wife, who had up till then lived with Bouhéreau, departed thither.

On July 9 (O.S.), 1701, Bouhéreau was made deacon by the Bishop of Kilmore, and on September 21 (O.S.) he was ordained priest in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

On August 14/15 a general fast was observed for God's help in the war against France. At the afternoon French service in St. Patrick's the preacher was M. Quartier, who subsequently married Bouhéreau's eldest daughter Marguerite and became the father of Jeanne Freboul, to whose *Reminiscences* I have referred.

On September 9 of the same year Jean, his youngest son, entered Trinity College 'où il a une chambre.'

All the family were now gathered in Ireland, for Des Herbiers or Richard came for the marriage of Marguerite and M. Louis Quartier on July 21 (O.S.), 1703, and settled with his wife in Co. Wicklow. Amateur, the third son, who had been in the household of the Duke of Devonshire, joined an Irish regiment and was first stationed at Waterford.

The autumn of 1703 saw the beginning of the long illness of Mme. Bouhéreau, who died on May 22, 1704. The entry in the diary relating to her death is as follows :

‘ J’ay perdu ma bonne et chère femme après une longue et douloureuse maladie, qui s’est terminée par une mort douce au Seigneur. Elle étoit dans la soixantième année de son âge . . . et nous étions dans la trente-sixième de notre mariage ayant été unis ensemble le 4 de Novembre 1668. Elle me laisse dans une vive affliction et dans un ardent désir de la rejoindre.’

She was buried on the 23rd in the ‘ Église françoise de St. Patrick ’ with Bouhéreau’s mother.

In December 1703 the family had come to reside at the library. Bouhéreau does not mention the unprecedented storms, without rival in the history of these islands, which ravaged Britain at the end of November, but strangely enough records the fast which was observed in Ireland to implore God’s protection against another.

On March 1, 1704, he notes with a certain pride ‘ J’ay baptisé en anglois Catherine, troisième enfant de Mr. Jourdain et de Blandine.’ Bouhéreau’s knowledge of English seems to have been imperfect and during the mission to Piedmont on one occasion he notes that letters were not sent on a certain day as he was awaiting the arrival of his son ‘ pour écrire en anglois.’

In March 1706 he learns with great sorrow of the death of his friend Paul Baudry, Professor in Utrecht, and on July 18 of that of his cousin Elie Richard. The same year M. Jourdain went for a short time to Portugal, where he acted as Lord Galway’s chaplain.

The following year, 1707, he notes the birth of a son to Richard Bouhéreau, his eldest surviving son. ‘ Il a été baptisé chez le Père, après midy, par Mr. Quartier, mon gendre, et nommé Elie, qui est mon nom, celui de mon père, celui de mon grand-père et de feu mon fils aîné.’

The same year saw the birth of Jeanne Quartier, second daughter of Louis Quartier and Marguerite, followed by the death of her mother. This daughter of Bouhéreau’s was likewise buried in St. Patrick’s, ‘ auprès de sa grand’mère, de sa mère et de deux de ses filles, en attendant qu’on y mette aussi le mien (mon corps).’

On November 30, 1706, he records the death of Samuel Synge 'à qui je doy succéder dans la dignité de chantre de l'Église cathédrale de St. Patrick.'

On February 22, 23 and 24 of the same year he had preached three discourses for admission to the degree of D.D. in Trinity College, Dublin. This degree was conferred on March 7. His son Jean was made deacon the same month and subsequently nominated by his father to Lusk, a living in his gift as Precentor of St. Patrick's.

Meanwhile death had removed many old friends. In 1710 Louis Massiot, his brother-in-law, died at La Rochelle; in 1712 M. Barbot de l'Ardenne, 'mon bon parent et cher ami'; the same year Dr. Francis Mouginot, physician, 'qui avait laissé tous ses biens en France pour la religion'; in July of the same year M. Turon de la Beyrie, 'mon intime ami pendant plus de 55 ans; il étoit à Londres, résident du la maison, de Brunschweig.'

The old man's last days were doubtless lonely. Much of his time seems to have been spent at Dunshaughlin, where his daughter Blandine's large family must have cheered him. In 1715 he notes an attack of paralysis from which he recovered. The same year he likewise notes, without any comment whatsoever, the death of Louis XIV.

In October Louis Quartier died leaving his little daughter entirely dependent on her grandfather. Bouhéreau may have found it difficult to adapt himself to the new world in which his grandchildren were growing up, for, although he had been naturalised in 1709 he was French at heart. In almost the last entry, May 28, 1716, he notes 'Dicky, c'est à dire Richard, second fils de mon fils aîné est allé pour quelques mois à Port-arlington, où je l'envoye pour parler françois.'

On February 20 he notes the death of Richard de Cerisy, one of the most intimate friends of his youth. In the last three years the diary is much neglected. There are no entries from August 1716 till January 1717, and after another blank from that month for over a year until April 1718. The last entry is dated March 31, 1719, and records the fact that Amateur, his son, had obtained a captaincy from the Viceroy, the Duke of Bolton. Bouhéreau died a few weeks later.

In the Huguenot church register his burial is recorded as follows :

‘Le 7 May 1719 a esté enterré par M. Fleury le corps de M. Bouhéraud chantre de St. Patrick, docteur en théologie. Il étoit fameux médecin et zélé Protestan de la Rochelle très sçavan et estimé.’

He had in his will expressed a wish that he should be buried with the other members of his family, and there is no reason to doubt that his earthly remains were laid in the quiet and beautiful Lady Chapel of St. Patrick's with his mother, his wife and his eldest daughter.

I have attempted in this paper to give some idea of the contents of this most interesting diary. It has been difficult to condense into twenty odd pages the material contained in a hundred and twenty-five. I may, doubtless, have omitted matter of historical interest, and I have been unable to refer at all to the forty pages of Bouhéreau's accounts, which are enlightening from the economic point of view, showing, as they do, the cost of living in the early eighteenth century as compared with that prevailing to-day. I have quoted chiefly isolated entries which seem to be of social interest, as I was anxious to give some idea of the conditions under which Bouhéreau lived.

The outstanding value of the diary is that it serves as a commentary to several somewhat obscure episodes in the diplomatic history of the reign of William III. It is fortunate that a man of Bouhéreau's attainments and methodical temperament should have been in a position to note many events of considerable importance.

The diary is best read in conjunction with the collection of State papers preserved in the Public Record Office, containing Coxe's and Galway's dispatches and letters from Switzerland and Piedmont. This collection includes many letters from Bouhéreau himself.

Finally, it is, of course, impossible in this second-hand fashion to give that sense of intimate personal touch with the man himself which comes from reading the actual text.

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